Suggested Citation
Katie Louchheim, recorded interview by Larry J. Hackman, April 24, 1968, (page number), John F. Kennedy Library Oral History Program.
GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE

Gift of Personal Statement

By KATIE LOUCHHEIM

to the

John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library

In accordance with Sec. 507 of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended (44 U.S.C. 397) and regulations issued thereunder (41 CFR 101-10), I, KATIE LOUCHHEIM, hereinafter referred to as the donor, hereby give, donate, and convey to the United States of America for eventual deposit in the proposed John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library, and for administration therein by the authorities thereof, a tape and transcript of a personal statement approved by me and prepared for the purpose of deposit in the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library. The gift of this material is made subject to the following terms and conditions:

1. Title to the material transferred hereunder will pass to the United States as of the date of the delivery of this material into the physical custody of the Archivist of the United States.

2. It is the donor's wish to make the material donated to the United States of America by terms of this instrument available to researchers as soon as it has been deposited in the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library. However, no researcher may quote from, paraphrase, or cite the materials without the written permission of the donor during her lifetime, and for ten years after her death without written permission from her designated heirs.

3. A revision of this stipulation governing access to the material for research may be entered into between the donor and the Archivist of the United States, or his designee, if it appears desirable.
4. The material donated to the United States pursuant to the foregoing shall be kept intact permanently in the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library.

Signed  

Date  June 22, 1969

Accepted  

Archivist of the United States  

Date  June 25, 1969
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Meeting John F. Kennedy [JFK] at Women’s National Press Club dinner for Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Trying to bring JFK and Hubert Humphrey back to the dinner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Discussing the religious issue with JFK at a luncheon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Discussing the women in the Democratic Party with JFK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Impression of JFK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chairman Butler’s favoritism towards JFK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nomination of chairman for the Democratic National Convention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Winter meeting in Albuquerque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Not being selected to be on the Arrangements Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Trying to get JFK to attend a conference for Democratic women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Opposition to using polls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Use of volunteers in West Virginia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Oral History Interview

with

KATIE LOUCHHEIM

April 24, 1968
Washington, D.C.

By Larry J. Haokman

For the John F. Kennedy Library

HACKMAN: All right, do you want to start off by talking about that meeting with the Senator?

LOUCHHEIM: I'd like to talk, to begin with, if we can, chronologically because that's the way my notes run. Every January the Women's National Press Club gives a dinner for the Congress. The idea that evening, as a kind of a picture and news stunt, was to have me and my opposite member in the Republican Party, Mrs. Clair Williams, stand each by a ballot box or a simulated ballot box and as the guests came in, to ask them to vote. Senator [Thurston B.] Morton, it says in my notes, in his most handsome affableness knocked over the papier mache donkey I stood by and he said, "Prophetic," as he set him back up. Fortunately no press over heard him. Opening up his white ballot he pulled out a pencil and looking at me he wrote, "Who else but Nels." Democrats and Republicans came in bunches. Clair Williams had some newcomers from Nebraska who were replacing Senator [William] Langer, and the new winner in Iowa. She also had [Styles] Bridges and [Charles A.] Halleck, [Jacob K.] Javits and [Francis] Case. And then came my turn. Jimmy Roosevelt stuck his bald head out of the Hawaiian shack and hung over the ballot box for the photographers. [Mike] Mansfield,
Senator Mansfield, looked very serious voted for the Majority Leader, Lyndon Johnson. Tom Hennings really looked at me and then just went by. Senator [Alan] Bible, [Spessard L.] Holland, [Philip A.] Hart, [Pat] McNamara, [J. William] Fulbright, and more cast on the mark as they cast the vote. I lobbied for [Thomas] Dewey on the Republican ticket. I saw Senator [Barry M.] Goldwater vote for Democrats Adlai [E. Stevenson], and Hubert Humphrey. By almost dinnertime no candidates had loomed into view. Suddenly my friend, the Post photographer, Bob Burchette, signaled to me. Both Senators Kennedy and Humphrey were in the hall, on my side of the hall talking. "Go get them, Katie," he urged. "Go get them and bring them back." I thought about it a minute and then I went ahead and tried to do it. I walked into them, separated them from Nancy Hanschman, whose guests they were, and got myself between them. We started towards the barrage of cameras. There is no sensation quite like that of ten pairs of lenses growling at you. "Get closer. Come on, come on, get closer. Hug them. Put your arm around them," came the shout. Very gently I tried only to pull them forward. I didn't really try to pull them towards me because I didn't think it was a good idea, and I could also feel at that moment that Senator Kennedy was pulling away. He acted very unhappy about the idea of my having tried to link arms with him. And he suddenly began calling for his wife, "Jackie, Jackie where are you?" She came and the picture the Post used turned out to be that of Senator Kennedy and Jackie Kennedy and a profile smidge of me and Senator Humphrey, which proved that Senator Kennedy was not only sharp, but right, that he wanted his picture and he didn't want necessarily to give his rival that much attention. I, however, did have the strangest sensation that he tensed up when I put my arm through his. And it just made me realize that I wouldn't do such a thing again. I confirmed in my mind the idea that I wouldn't try to. A few days later I had seen Bob Burchette and said, "Well, there wasn't any picture was there, ever, of me with the two senators?" He said, "You just wait and see, Katie." And that Sunday there was an absolutely stunning picture of me and Senator Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey. So there was a picture taken. But the Post very wisely chose the more interesting one. Later—unfortunately I don't have a date here, I wish I had—I was invited to one of these very famous luncheons. I should judge
sometime either the end of January or the beginning of February, in Senator Kennedy's office.

BACKMAN: This was in the same year?

LOUCHBEIM: Oh yes, this was in either January or February of 1960. There were, as my notes read, hot foods on a steam table and two folding chairs and a card table. I looked around to begin with at the collection of lithographs and the Senator pointed out to me a "ticket", quote, to Andrew Johnson's impeachment which was framed and hung in the office. My own comments, that is those that I noted in my journal, say that "he is slighter and more at ease and absolutely unaware," in other words you're not conscious of his focusing at you as somebody who is a factotum in the Democratic Party; and that he is absolutely natural which doesn't indicate to you that he's either trying to be friendly or deliberately being unfriendly. You know that if you must be on his list and if you must take up his time he's going to be more than civil, but he's not going to be exactly elated at having to do this. We talked first about himself, about the issue of religion in the campaign, and about the primaries, and about his strategy and about whether I could help. He said that he was certain he could get the plurality vote in Wisconsin, but that he and Hubert might split the delegates. He felt that he had a cinch in the eastern part of the state and that Hubert would hold the western part, and that the campaigning would be done in the middle. He was also talkative on the subject of entering Indiana and West Virginia primaries. And he said to me, "Why doesn't Senator Symington," or Stuart, as he called him, "take me on in Indiana, the most anti-Catholic state, the birthplace of the Ku Klux Klan?" About religion he told me that the percentage of real prejudice in the entire country amounted to eight or nine per cent. And the fact that the "Church," in quotations, or the top Churchmen were not for him should be proof that the Church as such did not enter in. "I am not an Al Smith," he ventured, but went on to maintain that he nevertheless had very big appeal for the poor, lace-curtain Irish, etc. I told him my thesis was that a good dispute about whether one was pro or con a Catholic might help get out a vote. And I think I was right. I told him that I had been brought up as a child in New York to distrust the
Catholic Church, but that had nothing to do with my feeling for him whatsoever as a candidate or a president because I had outgrown all the things I had been taught as a child including the fact that my family had been Republicans. But he saw no need for trying to stop [Richard M.] Nixon, as I suggested, from taking credit for persuading the Republicans to sign the civil rights petition being currently circulated. "He'll do it anyway." Then we talked about [Paul] Butler's attack on Helen Gahagan Douglas on Nixon in the [Jerry] Voorhis campaign, and he agreed with me again that this was foolish. I suggested that he tell him so, and the Senator's answer, with some acidity, I have here noted, was "I wouldn't dream of trying to persuade Butler not to do anything." Then I suggested, getting bolder, that when he speak publicly he speak slowly or more slowly. And he said, "I know. I hate reading speeches and that's why I read them so fast. I'm getting better. I do them mostly without a text." Would he perhaps, I began timidly, would he make the audience feel more close to him or nearer to him, I may have said warmer, if he singled one person out, looked at them and smiled. One got this impression—I didn't get to finish that sentence it says here—he said, "I know," he interrupted, "it's part of being young, this being aloof. They go together." And then he inferred "they", quote, liked him that way. And I said to myself, who was I to contradict? On leaving we started talking about the women in the Democratic Party, about possible Convention chairmen and committee, you know, heads of the various committees at the Convention. And I think that—I first of all, perhaps it was I or maybe it was he that mentioned [Mrs. Elizabeth] Libby Smith. Was she good, he asked me. And I said, "Excellent." And then he said, "She's divorced," as if he hoped I would say no. Then—I can't make out from my notes here whether he said, that is, the Senator said he would not make Bailey chairman. He had talked to Bailey and two easterners, etc, what did I think of Neil Staebler, who was the chairman of great repute in Michigan. I muttered something and shook his hand because I didn't really want to say too much about how I felt about Neil Staebler. My feeling about this, Staebler, as I might as well say for the record and for the future, was that he was absolutely marvelous in Michigan, but that his techniques would not necessarily fit other states; that he was a very thinking, thoughtful intellectual who wanted
to articulate what everybody stood for and do everything in a very precise, and professorial, perhaps even management type fashion, and that in a great many states where you had groups of people who were used to doing things a certain way they wouldn’t even like to hear about the methods of Neil Staebler. In fact, I had had this same argument with Chairman Butler many, many times because Neil Staebler was one of the chairman’s great idols. There was a final conversation that I don’t find noted, and which I regret because I remember it so very well, and that was—I’m sure it was on that occasion that I said I hoped he would not make Bailey the chairman because I felt that while Bailey was an extremely sharp politician, and perhaps one of the best in the business, if he had to be on the television, which a Democratic Chairman would have to be, and debate with his Republican opposite member, that he did represent the old fashioned, cigar smoking, cigar chewing type of passe professional. At that point the Senator then looked at me and said, "Don’t you like cigars?" as he removed one from his mouth. We exited laughing. My luncheon notes tell me that we drank milk and that neither of us ate the chocolate and whipped cream concoction, and that the chops and peas went down very well, and that the phone rang once and it was Wayne Hays, something that he wanted Mrs. Kennedy, Jackie, to do for an out-of-town editor. "I’ll see. Jackie has to do an awful lot of that, but I’ll see," came the Senator’s reply. I could be helpful he had inferred after the Wisconsin primary. He seemed genuinely apprehensive about this event, but not about its outcome. I could not picture him as being very close in relationship to anyone. It was difficult to picture him as a father even, as somebody who would, you know, who would really relax and unwind with small children. But, on the other hand, I say here very clearly he never made me feel that he was in a hurry, and he never made me feel that I was not getting his full and complete attention.

Backman: I think the first time we talked one of the things you mentioned that apparently you don’t have noted there was that—well, you mentioned that he showed evidence of having an extensive knowledge of the women in the Party, Democratic women around the country. Do you remember?
LOUCHHEIM: Oh yes. I thought he knew all the Party officials. I'm sure, as I say, these highlights, such as they are, overlook the fact that it was an hour or an hour and a half luncheon, and that we didn't just talk about whether or not there was a Catholic issue or whether or not there would be this or that chairman. We talked a great deal about the men and the women in the Party and he was extremely knowledgeable about both.

HACKMAN: Can you remember anything else about his attitude toward Chairman Butler at that time, or any discussion of this?

LOUCHHEIM: No.

HACKMAN: Were people at this point raising the point of Butler's favoritism towards Senator Kennedy? Can you remember?

LOUCHHEIM: I would suspect that they were because when we come to the subject of the chairmanship of the Convention I can refer to some notes that tell me that [Hale] Boggs was aware of the fact that Butler was against him. He didn't have much chance. And I think that irritating Boggs may not have been the happiest thing that the Chairman did as far as Senator Kennedy is concerned. Can we turn that off for a minute now?

HACKMAN: Sure.

LOUCHHEIM: This was in January again of 1960. And it seems to me that it was at the Democratic National Committee that I had a conversation with Congressman Boggs about his interest in being chairman of the Democratic upcoming Convention. He did say that in his favor he felt was the fact that he had nominated Paul Butler in New Orleans in 1954, that he had saved him in Chicago in 1956, and that he represented the liberal South, and that he was a Catholic. And that he thought that added up to quite a lot. Subsequently he got word that somebody at the New York Times had dropped by Friday to say that their chief political writer had a story directly from the Chairman, Mr. Butler, which said that he was
opposed, Mr. Butler was opposed, to Congressman Boggs on the grounds that he was a Catholic. At that moment Congressman Boggs, who was, to say the least, annoyed about this statement, called his wife, who was then serving as the annual fund raising dinner co-chairman, to tell her that she should quit. And he said, "Tell Butler to go get some Baptist as the dinner co-chairman."

HACKMAN: Can you remember discussing with Butler in this period this factor, the number of Catholics that would—well, favor Kennedy's candidacy and this factor in choosing officers for the Convention?

LOUCHHEIM: No, Mr. Butler, as far as I can remember, did not discuss the officers of the Convention at all with me. And, as subsequently will appear, as I looked over my notes, he excluded me from the Arrangements Committee. He did not want me to have a voice in this matter. Subsequently I had lunch with Mike Feldman and he reassured me that Hale Boggs was Senator Kennedy's choice. And he went on almost to say that who else was there. He inferred also that Mr. Butler would eventually consent since it was Senator Kennedy's wish. But the rumblings—again, let us break off from the luncheon and let us go back to the general attitude at the time—did continue, and they really concerned the fact that Hale Boggs had signed the Manifesto in the Congress. And there were congressmen who called their Party chairmen and they called me, etc., who said, "Hale won't do." People like the people from Michigan, for instance, Millie Jeffries, who was then, I believe—let's see, Margaret Price was the committeewoman and Millie Jeffries was the alternate, but she was the representative really of Walter Reuther and the UAW, United Auto Workers] said, "What would you think of..." and mentioned some other choices.

HACKMAN: Were the Kennedy people telling other people than yourself that Boggs was their choice at this point?

LOUCHHEIM: Well, they never certainly told it to me because my conversation always was limited to that one luncheon in the Senator's office and possibly some
very brief conversations in receiving lines. But the relationship
that I had was with Mike Feldman and Ted Sorensen. If you'll
just let me look at this page of notes I'll see if there's
anything.

There was also a plot beneath the plot which concerned a
matter in New Orleans, Camille Gravel who was the committeeman
and [James H.] Jimmy Morrison who was a congressman. And there
was some question in Camille's mind—and Camille Gravel was very
close to Paul Butler—that Hale Boggs had not really done enough
for Morrison. Then at this time my friends were telling me,
not directly to me, but Butler had spoken to others and admitted
that it wasn't the fact that Hale was a Catholic and he was
afraid that with a Catholic candidate this would be harmful,
but that the Southern aspect made him feel Hale was a poor
choice. And at some point somebody, I believe, got to Congressman
Boggs and said to him that Walter Reuther's representative,
Mrs. Jeffries, whom we just talked about, had been in to see
Butler and talked against him. And Mr. Boggs, quite justifiably
said, "Why? I'm curious. I've done his work. I've passed his
slum clearance bills and championed his minimum wages, etc.,"
and that he would talk directly to Reuther.

I find here in my notes, at the winter meeting in Albuquerque
in 1960, where all the candidates appeared, Senator Kennedy
spoke at an early morning breakfast. It was actually at 8 a.m.
He then quoted history twice and a rather obscure poet, via
Winston Churchill, thrown in for good luck, or whatever it was,
for good fortune. I wanted to call out to him, "Be yourself."
Afterwards, the man in charge of the meeting—and I don't say
who it is—said that the Senator would shake our hands. He
looked ever so startled and almost glad to see me. Paul Butler
made no secret about meeting with the Kennedy forces that
weekend—I would date it as February or March. He was that
weekend working with Denny Roberts, who is also deceased, unfortunatelty, from Rhode Island, who had been the Governor.
And at one point I recognized that in the general crowd, in
the hotel lobby or the motel probably, there was a telephone
page by one of the Kennedy people for Butler, so that everybody
turned their heads.

BACKMAN: Was he talking to any of the other candidates
in this way?
LOUCHHEIM: Well, I'm sure he was. When I say that everybody—you have to remember that at this stage the feature of all these meetings was Senator Kennedy, and that there was a lot of attention to what he was doing and what his staff was doing, so that people noticed. And this is the first time in my notes, incidentally, this footnote to Albuquerque in February 28th, that I remember Senator [Eugene J.] McCarthy saying, "I am more Catholic than Jack, more liberal than Hubert." And he has repeated that often since then.

Here's an evening, and it doesn't say whether it was at my house, because I don't think it was. We were talking about the Kennedy blitz and admiring their organization. Every staff member was enroute to Wisconsin and the family issued engraved invitations, and they have these lovely slim and elegant women. I say in my notes, "See the column by [James] Reston at the time"—and the very powerful attractiveness of this amazing young man. Then later on, my notes say, "For now all one hears is Jack, Jack, Jack." And then the next question is, "Can he win?" And then somebody says, "They can't stop him." And "they" turn out to be Hubert and the then majority leader President L. B. Johnson and Stuart Symington. At one point at a party at Jim Rowe's I find Senator Mansfield saying, "They started much too late." And then puffing on his pipe, he admits that the young Kennedy has it made. "He's everywhere. He's charming. He's bright." And then the heads bend low and they talk in smoke filled room kind of talk, and they say, "Well, this country will never elect a Catholic."

HACKMAN: Do you remember anybody else, other than Rowe and Mansfield?

LOUCHHEIM: Well, that's a good question. I don't seem to have a guest list here, no. "No. Then here's a remark made by Senator [Joseph S.] Clark around this time, Joe Clark of Pennsylvania. "I'm still for Adlai, but Jack's my next choice. He can take this." Turn that machine off now so I can look at my notes.

HACKMAN: Go ahead.

LOUCHHEIM: I had just returned—and this is dated April 17, 1960—from this first round of the travelling platform committee, which was an idea that I believe
Paul Butler and the Advisory Council together had put together. Mostly they were members from the Advisory Council. And I felt that at that time that it was a kind of a sop to me to put me on the first round of this travelling platform committee which went to Philadelphia. It would have been difficult, it occurred to me at the time, to have another woman. Because of television it can't be a congresswoman, you see. The minute we got into that we would get into politics, and we would have to give equal time. Mrs. [Eleanor] Roosevelt had either said no, or she didn't want to, and there wasn't anybody else. And then finally after my conversation with him was running down, talking about the success of this travelling platform committee, he said, "I'm not putting you on the Arrangements Committee because I'm in enough trouble, and they'd say I was stacking it."

HACKMAN: What did he mean to say by that statement? Stacking it in which way?

LOUCHHEIM: Well, I suspect that he, according to general legend at that time—don't forget this was April, the middle of April and beyond—had already pretty well been ticketed as a Kennedy person, and he felt that I would be his vote because I was his vice chairman and he wanted not to make it appear that he was putting me on because that would be just another vote in his direction, which was rather a fabricated excuse as far as I was concerned. And let me go back at least to an earlier time when I was sitting in the office that Mike Feldman and Ted Sorensen shared in the Senator Kennedy enclave there. And I told the former, that is Mike Feldman, who I had heard was on the Arrangements Committee. While I was doing this Ted was on the telephone. And when he finally hung up, Mike triumphantly produced the names I had given him on the Arrangements Committee and, "Oh," said Ted nonchalantly, "I have the list of the Arrangements Committee." And turning to a young secretary, he said, "Bring me that file marked 'National Committee.'" And then he ran off the names.

HACKMAN: Did he say where he got it or how long he'd had it?
LOUCHHEIM: No, and I was not one to ask. Meanwhile Mike Feldman had said to me, I suppose in conciliatory fashion, "You don't want to be on that Committee. You have plenty to do otherwise. You're a busy woman." I then asked Mike whether the Senator (Kennedy) had suggested to Butler that I be on it as he had urged me, Mike urged me, to let the Senator do. I recalled a lunch at which I argued that Paul Butler did not like to be pushed in any direction, and Mike had protested that I did not know how skillfully Senator Kennedy could do things. And, "No, he didn't do it," said Feldman, "because you insisted that he had better not." Well, I put the thing off, as one does, but it was obvious from my visit that Senator Kennedy had at least been consulted about the Arrangements Committee, and that he had either approved or had said that, you know, there wasn't anybody on there he objected to. I have no proof of this, except my processes of induction. There were a great many people who took credit for putting people on the Arrangements Committee. There were people, but they were all very intimate with Butler. One was Paul Ziffren, and the other was this Camille Gravel whom I've spoken of before.

HACKMAN: They were saying at the time that they had been, what, consulted or that they had been responsible for . . .

LOUCHHEIM: I don't think they said anything. Ted just assumed that he already knew the names and that he had a list.

HACKMAN: No, I mean people like Gravel and . . .

LOUCHHEIM: Oh, they were just taking credit, for instance, for putting Mary Cunningham on for such and such a reason. Mary Cunningham was a committeewoman from Nebraska. It's, after all, not a very important state. Everybody always likes to take credit for doing somebody a favor. I don't think it's worth documenting because if you're a good, adroit politician, and I'm sure Butler was that, you let everybody else think they also help create this committee and you led them into making choices and let them take the credit for it. I remember when it came time to appoint people, there were times when Butler said to me, "You can call up
so-and-so and tell them they're going to be on such and such a committee." That was part of the game.

Just before my conference for Democratic women at the Sheraton Park Hotel, on the seventh of May, I received word from Evelyn Lincoln that the Senator would not be there. I was very unhappy of course, and I knew the delegates would be. So I rang up Mike and I also rang up Edith Green, and both called me back and said they had failed. And then I called Mike again, and he said he was sympathetic and he would make another try. And then I called John Bailey. And John Bailey said "They're delegates, aren't they?" And he said--Bailey did--that he had sent two hundred and fifty women from Connecticut alone. And John promised to help me. But I didn't really feel very optimistic about the end result because I didn't think that anybody was going to be able to change the Senator's mind. I had even called Mrs. [Eunice] Shriver, who was sort of abrupt with me and said, "I don't know even my own schedule," Then when I suggested that he might be coming, she said, "Well, his and my schedule are different, quite different." In all fairness to Senator Kennedy, the more interesting the figure, the more difficult they were to get. And I note that Senator Johnson, the Majority Leader, wasn't sure that he was coming either. He had to be urged, and people had to be asked to work on him. And I think it's interesting too that it reflects somewhat the opinion of a great many politicians, not just those mentioned in this particular frame of reference, in that they thought women weren't really that important. I would suspect that this attitude still holds. The notes tell me then, of course, that Senator Kennedy did come to the conference. And, unfortunately, it says here simply on Monday that Evelyn Lincoln called to say he was coming and what time should he be there. And I'm sure that it was not too far off, at one time we figured 1:30. He did not want to appear with the others she told me, and he wanted to show a little later than the others. And he held a press conference, or at least kept an engagement with CBS and the BBC on the balcony of this large ballroom in the Sheraton Park, and made a grand entrance at about 1:30, accompanied by shouts, waving Kennedy signs and commotion. He also made, it says here, "a good, rousing, well-timed, well-phrased speech." But Senator Humphrey--incidentally I have to rephrase this and say this was the day
of the vote in West Virginia, the 10th of May, the results had not come in yet—by contrast was also good and rousing, but a bit long. The luncheon will go down as a most exciting and glamorous and explosively successful one. But it took a combination of Mike Feldman, Edith Green, John Bailey, and finally Paul Butler to bring off the appearance of Senator Kennedy. It was obvious to me that, at that time, and quite properly, Senator Kennedy was interested in having audiences to himself. He didn't want to share them with anybody. And he knew that Senator Humphrey, whom he'd been running against in West Virginia, was also going to be invited. After all, I was supposed to be working for the Committee, and I couldn't very well have one without the other.

On May 14th Mike Feldman came for supper and he expanded a bit on the West Virginia campaign. When they began, they couldn't even get the local leaders to talk with them. In the last two weeks they were calling and coming to the Kanawha Hotel, seeking out the Kennedy managers. Had I seen the five page comic book delivered to every voter? This job was first done in Massachusetts, then in Wisconsin, and now in West Virginia. It was done by Larry O'Brien. This was his specialty. He finds five area leaders, actually these were volunteers that came along, friends of Jack's, and they in turn find county leaders, etc. There was never any mention of money. In fact, there is an insistence on, quote, "volunteers." Mike's faith in polls is slightly shaken, which cheers me. Still, no matter what, they will stay ahead in the polls, especially Gallup. And he believes in using the polls when they are with you.

HACKMAN: Why do you say you're against using polls?

LOUCHHEIM: Well, I was always against polls, perhaps because of the fact that I go back to the [Harry S] Truman experience, and also that I think polls—I know enough about it to know that it's a science that you can manipulate. You can take a poll any which way you want. Furthermore, I think polls like the television on election day, influence voters. Nobody wants to be with the loser. And although I realize you can't stop progress, I have a dread fear of this becoming another kind of advertising science, sub-contract, because if you can manipulate people by polls, or by other means on election day, you really don't have the
same kind of a situation as you had before. I've never been too sure anyway, though, of what makes people vote, so I'm more inclined to think that people vote against rather than for.

HACKMAN: Well, your comment about Feldman's comment about money in West Virginia and the approach they took, what was he saying exactly, that they didn't speak in these terms when they talked to West Virginia people?

LOUCHHEIM: That's right, that's right. And, in fact, that they insisted on volunteers. Of course, you have to realize that a great many people were saying that they spent a lot of money and that West Virginians had gobbled it up.

HACKMAN: West Virginia is not a state where you can get by apparently without doing it.

LOUCHHEIM: Well, I think there were some reasons for paying people to go out and work the precincts, just the way you would pay people, for instance, to deliver a special kind of a leaflet if you were an advertising man. I come back to that. And to say to you, or to anybody else, for history, for the record, the historic record, that the voluntary associations of men and women whether they were regulars or volunteers for a special candidate, could accomplish this, is to exaggerate I think. I think they can do a great deal, but they're more apt to take heart on their own. In other words, in this particular campaign, today in 1968, I'm sure there are a great many young people who are for Senator McCarthy who like to work with other young people. I'm not sure that they would do this in the Polish wards of Indiana, etc. I'm not sure. But I'm saying that there are certain places where you need professional help.

I think we would like to mention here that there is a note here for the first time about Polly Fitzgerald, whom I became very fond of, who was a cousin of Senator Kennedy's, and that when Senator Humphrey met her at the airport, he told her he wished he had gotten her first.
BACON: How did he come to meet her at the airport?

LOUCHEIM: Well, I guess she was working in West Virginia. She must have been, I suspect. And they probably would meet her at the Washington Airport or something of this sort. All my notes here say, about Polly Fitzgerald, and that I hadn't heard of her but I looked forward to meeting her. And I got so I did know her, and we worked a lot together. It was great. I liked her very much.

BACON: What was your feeling, as this thing developed, as to the methods that the Kennedys used, particularly in relation to . . .

[Interview interrupted by phone call. End of first interview.]